352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well counted on fingers and toes)
with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[473] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[715] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals, as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the adjoining room, and placed the two under it. They were followed to the canopy by the musicians and by all the spectators, the former playing their rattles, beating their drums, and whacking sticks most noisily, and all calling and shouting and making every manner of fun. Having been thus escorted to their mosquito canopy, the ceremony was ended, and the bride and groom were at liberty to remove their finery, appear in their usual dress, and go about without further restriction. 585

The Cayapa maintain that not only at present, under the influence of the Catholic Church, but also in aboriginal times, marriage between near relatives was strictly forbidden. Even marriage between remote cousins is prohibited. This relationship of cousin, however, is regarded in a way somewhat different from that of civilized peoples. Further in case of the death of a man or his wife, the survivor is prohibited from marrying any other member of his or her family. 582

Divorce is now strictly prohibited, and the Cayapa maintain that it was unknown even before they came under church influence. It is also held that even before the establishment of the church among them the family relations were as sacred and the family ties as binding as at the present time. Divorce, however, is only a theoretical prohibition. As a matter of fact it does occur at the present time, although very rarely. A man or a woman leaving his or her spouse is, if apprehended, severely punished by the Cayapa officials and every effort is made to force reconciliation. Although sometimes these efforts are successful, cases are known 586 586 684

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to ●582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 753 776 [754] As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 775 177 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the soul. One informant maintained that there are numerous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

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in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ančápa/is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

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Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

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> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett; the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /búlutála/. Maximino Mendoza Añapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /lála búlutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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relationship is very distant and the family concerned thought that it would be alright-in fact much to be preferred to her marrying a 'cousin.' Many Cayapa feel, as does Maximino, that there should be a maximum bilateral extension of the incest taboo to the kindred; however, we will present legal material that indicates the beginnings of a narrowing of the incest range. Certainly, Maximino's family were willing to narrow the range.

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Kinship nomenclature.

Father /ápa/
Mother /áma/
Grandfather /aápa/
Grandmother /aáma/
Father's brother /apípi/, /apíku/
Mother's brother /ahčíyu/ m.s., /uhpúyu/ w.s.
Father's brother's son /apiná.tala/ m.s.
/pandekáⁱya/ w.s. /apinatakáⁱya/ w.s.
Father's brother's daughter /apiná.tacúhki/, pandecúhki/
Mother's brother's son /unʸuna.tála/
Mother's brother's daughter /unʸúnʸu/, /unʸuná.tacúhki/
Father's sister /unʸúnʸu/ m.s. /unʸuná?ma/ w.s.
Mother's sister /maŋgúku/
Father's sister's son /unʸuná.tala/
Father's sister's daughter /unʸuna.tacúhki/, /nʸánʸa/ (elder)
Mother's sister's son /maŋguná.tala/
Mother's sister's daughter /maŋgu?náma/, /maŋgunatacúhki/ /nʸánʸa/ (elder) /kaiʸa/ (younger)
Brother /ná.tala/ m.s. /ukúku/ w.s.
Elder brother /unʸáku/
Younger brother /béna/

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [/padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father'/]. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his madrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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of the would-be bridegroom notified Arcilio who, in turn, sent Bardonero Cimarrón who is 'family' to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Kalía also remonstrated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage.

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the /ún^{y}i/, it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could rove the countryside with a minimum of interference.

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Widows and Widowers. Max Heiman states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa (Heiman 1931:287). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate Heiman's statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only

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stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

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A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

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